

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SIG-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
HA-05 ACDA-12 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 /125 R

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APPROVED BY IO:GBHELMAN  
AF:WEDMONDSON

-----114227 050206Z /17

O R 050132Z APR 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 087036

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT:NAMIBIA: SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINGENCIES

1. DEPARTMENT'S MAJOR OBJECTION TO UK PAPER ON SECURITY  
COUNCIL CONTINGENCIES IS THAT IT APPEARS TO RULE OUT ANY  
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APPROACH TO THE COUNCIL UNTIL THE RESPONSES OF THE  
PARTIES ARE RECEIVED. WE HAD BEEN UNDER IMPRESSION THAT  
CONTACT GROUP HAD INFORMALLY AGREED THAT PROPOSAL WOULD  
BE TRANSMITTED TO SECURITY COUNCIL ON OR ABOUT APRIL 10,  
WITHOUT REGARD TO HOW THE PARTIES REACTED TO IT. THE  
SPECIFIC TYPE OF COUNCIL ACTION REQUESTED WOULD, OF  
COURSE, DEPEND UPON THE REACTION OF THE PARTIES, OR

THEIR LACK OF REACTION TO APPROACH. WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SEEK SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON OUR TERMS BEFORE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA. WE WANT TO AVOID CIRCUMSTANCE IN WHICH AFRICANS CALL FOR SC MEETING, SEEKING CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS, WITH THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING COUNCIL'S INABILITY TO ACT AS A PRELUDE TO UNITING FOR PEACE ACTION IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

2. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT WE HAVE NOW REACHED A STAGE IN THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS WHERE INTERESTS OF CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE BEST SERVED BY GOING FULLY PUBLIC

ON PROPOSAL AND PRESENTING IT TO THE COUNCIL. THIS WOULD NOT RULE OUT FURTHER ALTERATIONS, BUT IT WOULD PLACE BURDEN ON OTHERS PUBLICLY TO DEMONSTRATE DEFECTS IN A PROPOSAL WHICH CONTACT GROUP CAN CLAIM THAT ALL PARTIES, ACTING IN GOOD FAITH, SHOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT. OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ON COUNCIL ACTION WAS CONTAINED IN PARA 4 OF STATE 47788, MUCH OF WHICH WE BELIEVE REMAINS VALID. ALTHOUGH MUCH MAY CHANGE BETWEEN NOW AND APRIL 10, AT PRESENT MOMENT MOST LIKELY SCENARIO IS THAT IN 4(B), I.E., NEITHER SIDE ACCEPTS PROPOSAL BUT BOTH INDICATE DESIRE TO CONTINUE EXERCISE. WE MAY THUS HAVE TO SETTLE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WHICH WOULD ADD TO THE PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES TO ACCEPT OUR PLAN BUT WOULD NOT PROVE DECISIVE.  
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3. SIMPLY CIRCULATING OUR PROPOSALS AS A SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT, REPORTING ON OUR EFFORTS TO DATE AND GETTING AFRICANS AND OTHERS TO SPEAK UP FOR OUR PROPOSALS WOULD SEEM TO BE THE MINIMUM WE COULD SHOOT FOR AS FIRST STEP. IN AN EFFORT TO WIN GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF AND SUPPORT FOR WHAT WE HAVE DONE WE COULD ADDITIONALLY TABLE A "WHITE PAPER" RECOUNTING THE HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE.

4. AS AN INTERIM MEASURE, UK SUGGESTION OF SEEKING A RESOLUTION CONTAINING A TIME LIMIT FOR FUTURE CONTACT GROUP NEGOTIATING EFFORTS HAS SOME ADVANTAGES. PLEASE REPORT VIEWS OF OTHERS ON THIS. AS AN ADDITIONAL STEP WE COULD SEEK THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SYG WITH A MANDATE TO JOIN WITH THE CONTACT GROUP IN AN EFFORT TO BRING THE PARTIES TO FULL AGREEMENT. THIS HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF PROVIDING A RATIONALE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS BUT IT HAS DISADVANTAGES AS WELL:

-- THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR THE JOB WOULD BE THE COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA, AHTISSARI, ALREADY COMPROMISED

IN SOUTH AFRICAN EYES, MOST RECENTLY BY HIS ROLE IN THE  
RECENT COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA MEETING (CAPE TOWN 590).  
(WE COULD TRY TO SELL THE IDEA OF A PROMINENT POLITICAL  
FIGURE SUCH AS WILLY BRANDT.)

-- BOTH PARTIES WOULD BE ENCOURAGED, FOR TACTICAL  
REASONS, TO MULTIPLY THEIR DEMANDS FOR FURTHER CHANGES  
TO THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL RATHER THAN COMING TO  
TERMS WITH IT AS IT IS.

-- AN ACTIVE ROLE FOR A UN NEGOTIATOR COULD LEAD TO  
INCREASED STRAINS AMONG THE FIVE AND A BREAKING OF  
RANKS ON ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE.

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5. AS NOTED STATE 47788, KEY TO COUNCIL ACTION WILL  
BE AFRICAN ATTITUDE. CLEARLY, UNLESS WE CAN GET SUPPORT  
OF AFRICANS IN THE COUNCIL, WE WILL BE UNABLE TO OBTAIN  
NINE VOTES REQUIRED FOR PASSAGE OF RESOLUTION AND WOULD  
RUN RISK OF SOVIET VETO. FAILURE OF CONTACT GROUP  
RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY THROUGH OUR INABILITY TO  
ATTRACT NINE POSITIVE VOTES, WOULD BE HIGHLY  
UNDESIRABLE OUTCOME. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE USUN'S  
ASSESSMENT OF POSSIBILITY THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN  
NINE VOTES FOR RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA.

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## Message Attributes

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